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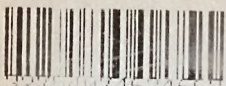


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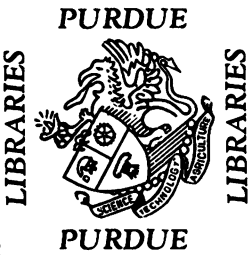
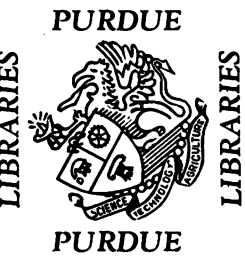
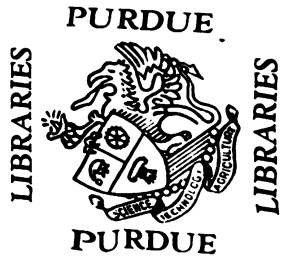
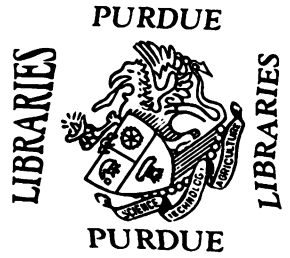
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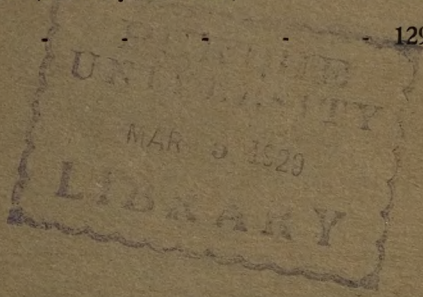
BULLETIN OF THE MODERN
HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

Edited by
H. J. CHAYTOR

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A TOLEDO HUMANIST

PUYMAIGRE¹ spoke of "la brusque jonction du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance" in Spain, a remark which seems less true of Spain than of France, where a passion for the Renaissance of Italy was introduced suddenly at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and for a time carried all before it. The Renaissance in Spain somewhat closely resembled the Renaissance in England: it was gradual, national, and not exclusively æsthetic. The Spanish showed themselves conservative, measured, and practical. Here and there, for instance, a writer would exult in the new victory over the "barbariousness" of Goths and Arabs; but Gothic cathedrals continued to be built late in the sixteenth century. Painting began to flourish in the second half of the sixteenth century. Góngora in 1590 is one of the first Spanish authors to refer to "the angelic modern painters who throw Apelles into the shade,"² and he wove their subtle colour schemes into his verse. It was a time of many universities, new and old; it was felt that learning led to many of the highest posts in Church and State, and it was sought after accordingly in that materialistic age. The first enthusiasm for the new learning drew men of noble birth to lecture and teach at the universities. In the middle of the fifteenth century a gentleman might incur blame for indulging in anything so effeminate as the study of letters.³ A century later García Matamoros affirms that it was considered a disgrace for a nobleman not to know Latin. It may have been so; but in 1611 Covarrubias remarks that gentlemen rejected with scorn the suggestion that they might learn a little

¹ *La Cour littéraire de Don Juan II.* (1873), vol. ii., p. 208.

² *Obras Poéticas*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc (1921), vol. i., p. 124.

³ "Reprehendiendo a algun cauallero si se daua al estudio" (Gómez Manrique, c. 1450).

Latin.¹ It is not, in fact, probable that the nobility was more devoted to learning in Spain than elsewhere. It is, however, certain that not only in the universities, but in every town throughout the Peninsula, there were in the first half of the sixteenth century small groups of men devoted to the humanities, good Latin and Greek scholars, and zealous for Castilian prose. A few men, but by no means so isolated as one might suppose, combined love of classical learning with love of their native city or region. At Toledo the influence of Vanegas in the first half of the sixteenth century (he died about the year 1550 at the age of between fifty and sixty)² corresponds in some way to that exercised later at Valencia by the professor Jaime Ferruz, who died at an advanced age in 1594. Alejo, Alexio, or Alexo Vanegas, or Venegas del, or de Busto, was a Castilian born. He himself seems always to have written his name Vanegas; and Covarrubias, although he derives the name from "Come Egas," and an old tradition that a king in battle had called an Egas to his assistance, enters it under Vanegas.³ Vanegas had begun to study for holy orders, but he married and earned his living as a teacher. He tells us that at the University of Alcalá in 1521 "among other subjects on which I lectured in the class of medicine was the *Ibis* of Ovid."⁴ But his life-work lay in his native city of Toledo. In introducing Vanegas as his disciple to the reader of the latter's *Tractado de Orthographia* (Toledo, 1531), the Maestro Alonso Cedillo, Professor in the University of Toledo and Prebendary of the Cathedral, says that "he has taught with me many years"; he is of noble birth, virtuous, and learned.⁵ Vanegas appears to have spent several years towards the end of his life at Madrid, but it was Toledo that held his affection and interest. The Imperial city was then only slowly falling from its former splendour, and during the next century, 1550-1650, it had a glory of its own—Santa Teresa, Luis de Leon, and St. John of the Cross came there; Tirso de Molina made himself intimately acquainted with its life in the city and Sagra and Cigarrales; and

¹ *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, s.v. "Embotar": "Y agora si dezis a un señor que deprenda siquiera un poco de Latin, os dirá que en su linage no ha auido Bachilleres."

² See Miguel Mir, "Discurso Preliminar" in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (1911), vol. xvi., pp. xiv-xxvi.

³ *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana* (Madrid, 1611; microphotographic reproduction, New York, 1927). See also s.v. "Albanega" (net).

⁴ *N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 304. El Brocense, who resembles Vanegas in his omnivorous keenness, later chose the same subject, but does not mention Vanegas.

⁵ "Allende de ser de noble linaje es en sí muy virtuoso y zeloso del servicio de Dios y de harto más erudición que piensan algunos."

El Greco daily went up and down its narrow streets to paint in church and convent. One may perhaps infer from the fact that in the evening prayer composed by Vanegas Santo Tomé comes immediately after St. Alejo at the head of the list that, like El Greco, he lived in the high-lying parish of Santo Tomé overlooking the Tagus. There was gloom in the streets, shut in between their cliffs of tall, bare houses, and an air of famine about some of the dark doorways. But there was plenty of laughter and merriment—far too much thought Vanegas: “Risas, hablas, cantares, bailes, vino, huertas”; “comer y campos y huertas.” The severe Vanegas could not approve of bowls or skittles (*birlos*) in the *vega* round Toledo, no doubt because they were accompanied by gambling, as Sir Thomas More condemned “tennis, boules, coytes”; he frowned upon dancing, “sacando a bailar a las loquillas desmandadillas”; he points to the evils resulting from bull-fights (oaths, drink, “cuchilladas que por maravilla faltan”), and from picnics in vineyards and gardens, and the acting of farces in private houses.

Vanegas was praised in glowing terms by his contemporaries, but has been neglected by posterity. Matamoros just after his death declared that “Vir fuit infinitæ prope ac stupendæ lectionis, subtilitate ingenii, disciplinarum varietate et elegantia postponendus nemini”; Sepúlveda praised him as “vir non solum humanioribus litteris in primis eruditus sed etiam in studio theologiæ versatus.”¹ (They had met at Madrid and discussed whether there was any room for pity in the doctrine of Aristotle.) Covarrubias, without always accepting Vanegas’s etymological derivations, spoke of him as “very saintly and very learned.”² His best-known work bears the title *Agonía del Tránsito de la Muerte* (Toledo, 1537; a seventh edition was published in 1571).³ He “wrote on death and other cheerful topics of the same kind.”⁴ It is not encouraging, and not many modern readers may be inclined to open a book so entitled. Had he called it a Toledo

¹ Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Epistolarum Libri VII.* (Salamanca, 1557), lib. vii., ep. 3. Torquemada, who corresponded with him, refers to Vanegas as “varon tan eminente en letras y dotrina.” Conde de la Viñaza, *Biblioteca Histórica de la Filología Castellana* (Madrid, 1893), col. 1146. Vanegas was also a friend of the Archdeacon of Ronda, Don Lorenzo de Padilla, a keen archæologist, and of the Toledo cosmographer, Pedro de Alcocer.

² *Tesoro*, s.v. “Endechas” (which Vanegas wished to derive from Lat. *Indicia* or from *Inde jaces*).

³ See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, vol. iv., cols. 1010-1018; Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca*, III. 8-9; C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña* (1891), pp. 17-20.

⁴ J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A New History of Spanish Literature* (Oxford, 1926), p. 187.

Miscellany it might have been otherwise; and certainly in this, as in so many other works of Spanish literature, an unpromising title conceals contents of quaint and various interest. If we wish to discover for ourselves what were, not the prevalent views of foreign countries concerning Spain in that age, but the real attitude of Spanish thinkers towards the ideas and doctrines then prevailing in Europe, what was the real feeling in Spain, so curiously situated between East and North, between Valla and Luther, few studies will better enable us to get to the very core of our purpose than the brief treatises of this Toledo humanist.

To us who live amid dazzling infinities, in our minds and around us, in time and space, in the past and the future, it is extremely difficult to realize how limited and finite might be the world of thinkers even a generation or two generations after the discovery of America. To Vanegas the infernal regions were nearer than Calicut: there were precisely 1,293 leagues from the surface of the earth to Hell.¹ Time was equally reduced, and the year 1500 A.D. corresponded to the year 5470 of the creation of the world.² Vanegas, although he considered Spain a "buena tierra," was far from considering that he lived in a golden age (has anyone, except the historian Jean Bodin—anyone over forty years old—declared the times in which he lived to be the golden age?); that had occurred before the Flood, when the fruits and herbs men ate were "of more nourishment than are partridges today." The present time was, indeed, the dregs and refuse of past ages and plainly decrepit: "vivimos en las heces del siglo."³ The world had been degenerating for close on six thousand years. It was not an inspiring prospect: "ætas parentum, pejor avis." It remained for the individual to be a shining light amid this darkness. Within this narrow world Vanegas's interests were innumerable. He refers to grafting, to the different kinds of wood, to the qualities of different soils. Enduring cypress is used to make tables and chests and writing-desks, walnut for doors; larch withstands fire, and pine serves for more common purposes.⁴ The soil of La Mancha is more suited for wheat *trigo* (*trichel*) than that of La Sagra; the soil of Illescas is better for cherries than that of Toledo; while for quinces that of Toledo excels all Spain. We are not surprised to find muscadine pears in the orchard of San Silvestro and medlars in the town of Liria, since their soil is suitable; but if we found lemons (?) or peaches in

¹ *N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 202.

² *Ib.*, p. 297. Cf. Nuñez Alba, *Diál.*, I., where A.D. 1500 is A.M. 5465 and 3809 since the Flood.

³ *Ib.*, xvi., pp. 242, 246, 297.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 242.

a chalk or salt soil it would be as astonishing as for sand to produce other than barren plants (*azaviras*).¹

Above all, everything connected with Toledo interested Vanegas. For Doña Isabel de Viana, Abbess of the Convent of San Juan de la Penitencia at Toledo, he undertakes to write a Latin grammar. When he crossed the bridge of Alcántara he would look up at the old castle on the hill beyond the river and think of the time when it was called Santo Servando, and was inhabited by Templars, now he says it is called the Castle of St. Cervantes; and of not less interest to him were the remains of the Roman circus outside the walls by the Convent of St. Bartholomew. He was attracted by old names, such as the Tendillas de Sancho bien haya (which, says Vanegas, are now not more his than mine), the Corral de Pavones, the Barrio del Rey. He records that some peasant-women had seen St. Telmo's fire as they went from Toledo to Ollás on January 5, 1538; and that at the beginning of January of "last year" (1536) the Tagus at Toledo froze so hard that "I saw more than fifty persons on it at once, and they played skittles and quoits on it and roasted meat over a great fire on the ice."

Vanegas had to provide for a household consisting of twelve persons. No doubt these would be himself, his wife, and eight or nine children, and a maid of all work—an unillustrious *fregona*. He prints a tremendous litany, which they prayed every evening. It is in eloquent—indeed, exquisite—Castilian, and witnesses alike to his piety and his pleasure in beautiful words. But as one reads page after page of this prayer, one cannot help thinking of the children hungry and sleepy in the large, bare, gloomy house, and finally dismissed to bed with the last allusion of the interminable prayer to "all our enemies, *visible and invisible*" very present, we may be sure, to their minds. What did poor little Athanasius think of it all? one wonders. Athanasius, we know, was the youngest son; we only hear of him once, and then he had a pain in his side. Somehow one thinks of a row of rather sad faces listening to that litany, although they were infinitely better off than their neighbour Lazarillo and his master. Their father was rarely at a loss; he had a remedy for everything, a word of advice for every occasion: one must not go for the doctor for every ill, and for the toothache it sufficed to swallow a grain of incense when one went to bed. The poor often get well more readily than the rich and without doctor or chemist.²

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 240, 245. *Miñeruelos* must be a misprint for *niñeruelos*, which occurs also in *The Pleasant Delights and Woods of the Upper and Lower Vera in Extremadura* (Madrid, 1667).

² *Ib.*, p. 268.

His children must have been very well brought up, sensibly if austere. He says somewhere that "scruples are the messengers of the angels of Satan masquerading as the angels of light," and he deprecated an over-great desire for knowledge; above all, "singularities" were to be avoided as savouring indeed of heresy, while over disobedient children was held the fearful example of the youth of Granada, who began by disobeying his father and ended by signing away his soul to the Devil. Poor Athanasius! Vanegas seems to have been fond of children, although he remarks that they have no common sense. He will not agree with St. Augustine that unbaptized infants will go to hell; in this he shares the "remorse of equity" of Hooker and Luis de Leon. His heart was stirred to pity if he saw a child barefoot and in tatters running home with a loaf in one hand and a penn'orth of wine in a jar in the other, the whole repast of a family of seven at nine o'clock and their breakfast and luncheon, too; and in their continual hunger what others throw away would be a feast to them.¹ Vanegas himself was too sensitive to be a Stoic; he could not pretend to be insensible.² He says that a human soul is worth more than the whole of the visible world (*más vale una alma que todo el mundo visible*). He sometimes shows a strange insight. He knew that we are all murderers (with the possible exception of a few impulsive persons who get hanged), for all men kill the thing they love. . . .³ No doubt he taught his children himself, and this would be one of the many burdens on his time; he says again and again that his books were only written in hours snatched from sleep. His was a truly Christian and democratic outlook. His charity was very real, and was not confined to a mere giving of alms. If, he says, my neighbour is a Christian, he must have some good wheat; let us then wait in patience till the wheat and the tares grow up together. Men are not equal any more than the fingers of the hand are equal, but it does not follow that the greater should fortify themselves in the castle of their honour and thence wage war upon the weak, the exorbitantly rich on the poor, the official on the people, the learned on the ignorant, and, worst of all, the proud noble on the peasant or the newly rich (*al de nueva familia*). And at the same time he had a humanist's disdain for the common people, "*el vulgaje de las aldeas*," and especially for "*la canalla del vulgo*" of cities. He

¹ *Ib.*, p. 239.

² *Ib.*, p. 229. *Indolencia* in this passage means not indolence, but insensibility.

³ *Ib.*, p. 254: "Y pienso yo que no hay criatura, ni natural ni artificial, que en uno o en otro lugar, en uno o en otro tiempo, no haya sido ocasión de la muerte de algunos hombres."

proclaims that *noblesse oblige*, and that the noble hidalgo, having received more, must show greater humility than the oppressed peasant, the prelate than the sacristan's assistant, the just man than the sinner.¹ Christ is disguised in the honest poor, and lies at our door as Lazarus at the door of Dives. He is disguised in afflicted widows and poor orphan girls; in the neglected rich and the naked poor and the barefoot, hungry children of one's needy neighbour, and none heeds them. Perhaps, as he wrote these words, Lazarillo was passing his door with or without a crust of bread. He saw that it was (and is) really a case of incuriousness and ignorance, and he wished every Toledo house to have the names and status of its inmates clearly written up. Vanegas was keen, shrewd, and practical; he does not seem to have had any real love of nature or love of poetry. He quotes Persius, Terence, Virgil, Horace, and his favourite Ovid (Martial he denounces as immoral); but he quotes them as he might a prose writer, Plato, Cicero, Vives, Budé. Notwithstanding some passages in his works (that, for instance, in which he defines "*declaraciones* : explicacion, dilatacion, interpretacion, detruncacion." Poor Athanasius!) Vanegas was not a pedant; rather, he waged a lifelong campaign against pedantry. He cries out against those who despise their native tongue (Spanish, he adds unnecessarily, is corrupt Latin, but Latin still). He penetrated to the heart of things. His view was that if, on the one hand, serious subjects were treated exclusively in Latin and wrapped about with endless commentaries and glosses and, on the other hand, those who had no Latin were given the romances of chivalry, there could be no hope for true education. Accordingly, in his preface to the works of his pupil Cervantes de Salazar, he inveighs against "*Amadis*" and other romances of chivalry, and rejoices that "daily a thousand good books are now published as their antidote." By writing in Spanish and explaining abstruse subjects simply, Vanegas was working on the same lines as other great Spaniards—Lebrija, Vives, Agustín, El Brocense—in cutting a clear path to knowledge through the medieval brushwood, or what Vanegas calls the "*barbarería*" of "*glosas, comentarios, anotaciones, escolias, observaciones, castigaciones, sanciones, miscelaneas, centurias, paradojas, antiquitates, coetaneas, lucubraciones y adiciones, con todos los antifaces de la chimera.*"² For Lebrija, especially, he had the keenest admiration, the most learned man produced by Spain for the last thousand years or so.³ Vanegas in his Spanish is clear

¹ *Ib.*, p. 293.

² *Ib.*, p. 302.

³ *Ib.*, p. 247: "El maestro Antonio de Lebrija, que fué el mejor y más docto que creo que hubo en España dende que Sertorio, capitán romano antes del advenimiento de Nuestro Salvador Jesuchristo, fundó

and *castizo*; he can be homely enough, as in his simile of "washerwomen in winter warming their wet nails."¹ A word must be said as to his etymology. We have seen that even Covarrubias, who was not himself above suspicion (does he not wish to derive *chico* from Latin *siccus* and *muchacho* from Greek *κάκος*?), boggled at some of the suggestions of Vanegas, and a modern Spanish critic described them as "barbarously felicitous." Among these happy perpetrations we must count the derivation of *máscara* (mask) from *más cara* (more face) because there was more face underneath. *Loco* (mad) he derives from Latin *locus*, not because it is good "desipere in loco," but because the madman's mind is an empty place. Covarrubias, who says that the etymology of this word is enough to drive the sanest person mad, gives the same derivation and for the same reason, but he thinks it right to add that it may come from *lucus* or *lux* on the "lucus a non lucendo" principle, or from a Basque word, or may be akin to loquacious. (The Portuguese are inclined to derive *louco* from the Arabic.) Some of the derivations of Vanegas are correct and sensible; he goes astray in excessive desire to explain every part of a word: the second half of *holgazán* must be derived from the Greek verb "to live." Perhaps his most surprising derivation is that of *jornal* from Jove, although he declares that the word is Italian, and can scarcely have been ignorant of the Italian *giorno*. Enchanted treasure is treasure surrounded by stones (*cantos*). *Bona xira* is from the Greek for "hand," although a French word, *xira*, meaning "face" (to welcome guests with a good face!) is also indicated. He derives "galaxy" duly from "milk," and frowns on the error of the common people which connected the word with Galicia and the Way of St. James.

There have lately been introduced a growing rashion to consider Spanish writers during the counter-Reformation, and especially Cervantes, as hypocrites and great dissimulators. They are supposed to have adopted "the form of scepticism which expressed itself in the convenient theory of the two truths"—"the comfortable hypothesis of the 'two truths,' according to which a proposition could be philosophically true and theologically false, or *vice versa*."² This attitude sprang out of the Angelic Doctor's divorce between theology and reason, and was introduced in Italy by Pomponazzi, and in that country, in which religious fervour was not prominent, it is generally held to have had a considerable vogue; Cremonini, Vanini, Telesio, Bruno following

la Universidad del estudio de Huesca." The work of clearing was, says Vanegas, especially necessary in law and medicine.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 198.

² See *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 242, 246.

the example of Pomponazzi and the school of Padua. "Ils séparent nettement le domaine de l'observation et de l'expérimentation du domaine de la foi. Ils posent le principe d'une double vérité au lieu de rêver des conciliations chimériques." Bruno "croit moins à une double vérité qu'à une double forme de la vérité."¹ An Italian critic declares that in Italy after the Council of Trent "nacque una affermazione ipocrita e rettorica, sotto alla quale senti una delle forme più deleterie della negazione: l'indifferenza."² It would be very interesting if it could be proved that this frame of mind was also widely prevalent in Catholic Spain. It would show that a great period of literature and art can be based, not on national and religious faith and fervour, but on a narrow game between schoolboy and dominie, not on belief and affirmation, but on scepticism. On the face of it the attitude of Spanish writers would seem to have been neither indifferent nor hypocritical, and quite different from that of the Italians. They accepted two truths certainly, but on the lines of St. Thomas Aquinas himself. There was human reason and there was faith, a thing different from and higher than human reason. It is in this spirit that El Brocense refuses to bind his intelligence in matters not appertaining to faith, and that many of his contemporaries make similar affirmations. Of course it is possible to say that the century from 1550 to 1650 was not in Spain a period of great art and literature. Signor Toffanin, for instance, considers that *Don Quixote* "is the only glorious fruit produced under the counter-Reformation."³ It seems a curious view. In France we read of "les heureux effets de la contre-réformation catholique."⁴ "Bien des nations s'estimeraient suffisamment heureuses si elles avaient produit, dans tout le cours de leur existence, cinq écrivains ou savants tels que Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, Malebranche, et Mabillon."⁵ It will hardly be denied that Spain about that time (a little earlier) can show half a dozen great names for each of those celebrated Frenchmen. In view of this it is permissible to consider the effects of the counter-Reformation to have been no less happy in Spain than in France. De Sanctis himself, who lays so much stress on the individual hypocrisy and general stagnation in Italy, writes quite otherwise of Spain: "Il sentimento religioso, esaltato dagl' interessi politici e dal fanatismo delle plebi, fu fattore di civiltà, accentrò le forze

¹ J. R. Charbonnel, *La Pensée Italienne au XVI^e Siècle et le Courant Libertain* (Paris, 1919), pp. 386, 507.

² De Sanctis, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (1919 ed.), vol. ii., p. 181.

³ *La Fine dell' Umanesimo* (Torino, 1920), p. 418.

⁴ C. Dejob, *De l'Influence du Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1884), p. 332.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 344.

intorno alla monarchia assoluta, costituì fortemente l' unità nazionale e impresse alla vita intellettuale un moto più celere."¹ In his view, therefore, intellectual life had no need of hypocrisy in order to flourish under those circumstances in Spain. Yet we are asked to believe that the writers of that age, and especially Cervantes, played a game of subtle dissimulation with the Censor in order to see how near they might come to the candle without burning their fingers, and to betray a sign of inner scepticism here and there without making the acquaintance of the cells of the Inquisition.² Cervantes is held to have condemned himself out of his own mouth. He declares that he is a *socarrón* (speaks with his tongue in his cheek), and that a secret hypocrite harms none but himself; but these are precisely the kind of statement that no hypocrite would think of making. He declares that at the worst the hypocrite does less harm than the open sinner; but this is merely the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church that sin accompanied by scandal is worse. The fact is that the Spanish are, and have always been, by nature critical and outspoken, and any check on this natural bent galls them. More scope was allowed in Spain than elsewhere. In Italy, for instance, the mere mention of a false hermit in Boccaccio was deleted,³ whereas in Spain Cervantes and many another writer is suffered to poke fun and even insult at hermit, priest, and friar. Their gibes are levelled, not against religious faith or dogma, but were shafts directed, as from man to man, against those who seemed protected from the rigour and stress of life.

It may seem that we have wandered far from Vanegas; but when we consider that Vanegas wrote in the freer first half of the sixteenth century, before the Council of Trent, his attitude towards religious questions and the State religion may not be without bearing on our judgment concerning those later writers. Vanegas shows a characteristic Spanish outspokenness. He has a remarkably spirited chapter about relics and pardons. Men take many pardons, he says, and then return to their deceits and sinning; they celebrate the day of St. Robert because they have a devotion to the cave of St. Patrick in the island of Hibernia, and think they then have a right to go back to St. Simon and St. Mamona (simony and mammon); they rely on their prayers and on a fragment of a tooth of Samson and other relics,⁴ and

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 116.

² See Américo Castro, *El Pensamiento de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1925), pp. 45, 53, *et passim*.

³ See Dejob, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁴ And this book was reprinted several times in the reign of relic-venerating Philip II.

they have so many pardons that they are free for thousands of years, and are able to pass on some of their pardons to their friends.¹ His criticism of priests is no less bitter than his indictment of laymen.² His Chapters XVI.-XVIII. are, in fact, a satirical review of the life of kings, priests, officials, and other professions in the manner of Lucian or Erasmus or Gil Vicente. It is the voice of Juan de Valdés, of Villalón in *El Crotalon* (written about 1555), of Torquemada in his *Diálogos Satíricos* (1553).³ It may be thought that this was the dying voice of a free Spain; this is how Cervantes and his contemporaries would have spoken had they been free, and because they did not we are to consider whether they were not reformers, sceptics, followers of Erasmus, even followers of Luther in disguise. How much more must this be true of Valdés and Vanegas! Perhaps, before coming to any rash conclusions, it may be well to turn to what Vanegas has to say on the subject. He says that the destruction of Freiburg by fire was a very mild punishment for heretic Germany;⁴ he says that the heretics are vipers who seek to win the hearts of the people, and must be trampled out and consumed with fire before they destroy the good soil (of Spain); if in Germany there had been the religious care and fervour that there is in Spain, Luther and his nest of vipers would have been destroyed at birth.⁵ Let us turn from the subject of religion to the subject of patriotism. Vanegas here, again, is outspoken in his criticism. The four chief vices of the Spanish, he says, are luxury in dress, contempt for mechanical professions, pride of ancestry, and incuriousness. The first is confirmed by innumerable writers. Fray Hernando de Talavera, who became Archbishop of Granada after its capture by the Catholic Sovereigns in 1492, states that formerly the peasant would say that a black sleeve ill became his arm; now there is scarcely a peasant or mechanic who does not wear fine cloth and even silk.⁶ It was a sign of the upheaval following on the discovery and conquest of the Indies, and was by no means confined to Spain. "For not only gentlemennes servantes but also handicrafte men, yea and almooste the ploughmen of the country, with al other sorts of people, use much straunge and proud newefangle-ness in their apparel and too muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous

¹ Vanegas, "Agonía del Tránsito de la Muerte" in *N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 156: "Se han tomado muchas bulas, ktl."

² *Ib.*, p. 176.

³ See especially passages in the *Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana* (Alcáala, 1529), by Juan de Valdés; ed. M. Bataillon (Coimbra, 1925).

⁴ *N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 246. He quotes a letter from Erasmus to Damião de Goes.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 312.

⁶ *De Vestir y de Calzar*, cap. xiv. (*N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 66).

fare at their table."¹ As to the second vice, which Vanegas says results in an abundance of idlers, it was ingrained and incurable. Talavera himself, when he wishes to say that St. Joseph was a carpenter, veils the ignominy in the phrase that he "sometimes turned his hand to carpentry";² and Valdivielso hangs fire in several stanzas before he can bring himself to state the truth.³ Not certainly to incuriousness, but to a certain pride of ancestry, Vanegas might himself plead guilty, as several passages show, and he does not omit to tell us that one of his friends and patrons who might be seen in the streets of Toledo was a *rebixnieto* (*tataranieto*, great-great-grandson) of King Dinis, who died in 1325. But he denounces the presumption of race and worldly honour, affirms that a grain of virtue is of more value than a long descent, and deplors the strife of greed and envy.⁴ Are we to infer from all this that Vanegas thought Spain worse off than other countries of Europe? We have seen what he has to say of Germany; as to Italy, a man who lives an upright life there, amid the cult of Martial and Propertius and Plato, is as worthy or praise as a hermit in the desert of Egypt.⁵ On the other hand, those who live in a well-ordered land ("en la republica concertada y bien ordenada y muy religiosa"), may be more narrowly criticized: "A man who should live as a Christian in the city of Wittenberg, in which the heresiarch Luther sowed his tares, would be considered, surrounded by those vipers, to be more Christian than a Catholic in the city of Toledo, where the holiness of the Church invites him to lead a holy life; apart from the excellence of the clergy and the great number of convents of every Order in this the very heart of Spain . . . and all the religious brotherhoods of Spain seem to have come to hold chapter in Toledo."⁶ What an outcry there would have been if Cervantes had written that last sentence! What satire, what dissimulation would have been read into the words! Really, the only difference between the first and second half of the sixteenth century is that the writers of the earlier period were rasher and more unreserved in their criticism, not that they were hostile to Church or State, nor that the later writers were sceptics and hypocrites. It was the difference between the reception given to the plays of Vicente at Lisbon and at Brussels: their irreverence was considered harmless and condoned in Catholic Lisbon, but

¹ Sir Thomas More, *Utopia* (1516).

² *De murmurar o mal decir*, cap. vi. (*N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 55).

³ *Vida y Muerte del Patriarca San Josef*, Canto I. He is careful to say that it was from no necessity to gain his living that this descendant of kings was trained in an "arte de mecánico ejercicio."

⁴ *N.B.A.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 315: "Scisma de linajes y vandos y competencias de letras y mayorazgos." Cf. pp. 277, 293, 299.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 245.

⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 241 and 273.

seemed impious elsewhere. The times had changed. The later writers themselves recognized that there was a new need for caution, and if in Cervantes and other writers there is plenty of criticism, this is but the national outspokenness and sturdy independence breaking through the new habit of reserve. It has been said of Elizabethan England that "religious unity was felt by the wisest to be a political necessity; no sacrifice was too great to obtain it."¹ May we not suppose that wise and patriotic spirits in Spain (and no one doubts the patriotism of Cervantes) were working to the same end? Indeed, in no country of Europe was the national spirit more evident. The Inquisition itself was a political even more than a religious institution; it was undoubtedly accepted by patriotic Spaniards not in a spirit of fear, abasement, and subservience, but as a national means of defence working for religious and national unity ("solo un pastor en un aprisco solo"), and the Roman Catholic faith was cherished as a principle of honour. As St. Teresa said, Europe was on fire; in his *Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, Rivadeneira draws a sharp contrast between the wars and disturbances abroad and the peaceful state of Spain,² and mentions the "incredible cruelties" of the Calvinists.³ Cervantes declared that Spain was the most peaceful country in the world. The best Spaniards were by no means enamoured of the "liberty" of foreign countries,⁴ and the best critics now realize that in Spain thought was not oppressed.⁵

No doubt peace can be attained at too great a price; but it cannot be maintained seriously that this was the case in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain, where the censorship was less severe than, for instance, in Italy, and where the Inquisition burnt no one of the intellectual stature of a Servet ("Calvin," says Voltaire, "fit brûler tout vif et avec des fagots verts un Espagnol qui s'exprimait sur la Trinité autrement que

¹ Mandell Creighton, *Historical Lectures and Addresses* (London, 1903), p. 167.

² *Vida del Bienaventurado Padre Ignacio de Loyola*, cap. xviii.: "Rebeliones, alborotos, levantamientos, comunidades y guerras . . . la paz y quietud de que gozamos."

³ Ronsard, writing in 1562, when Rivadeneira was thirty-five, speaks of "l'extrême malheur dont notre France est pleine"; and he refers to the "cruautés barbaresques" of 1563.

⁴ The Spanish translator of Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti* contrasts the license of Italy with the liberty of Spain: "Bien sabeis la diferencia que ay entre la libertad Italiana y la nuestra." See C. B. Bourland, *The Short Story in Spain* (1927), p. 17.

⁵ Cf. A. Farinelli, *Ensayos y Discursos* (1925), Pt. II., p. 467: "Del regazo de la Iglesia salían los hombres de juicio más libre y sutil, de atrevidas ideas; no solo los heterodoxos españoles, entre quienes hay pensadores verdaderamente geniales y profundos, sino tambien otros que la Iglesia amparaba y bendecía."

lui”), a Bruno, a More, or that “milde man of God, the bishop of Cantorburie.” If theologians in Spain were keenly watched, the layman and writer in Spanish was often allowed comparative freedom of expression. So late as 1611, six years after the publication of Part I. of *Don Quixote*, we are struck by Covarrubias’ bland contempt for the mere writer in Spanish.¹ On the other hand, a great mass of new readers had arisen—readers of Spanish, not of Latin—and every respectable writer of Spanish felt that he wielded a weapon which might be dangerous, especially as there was a widespread tendency to accept the printed word as the literal truth. Lope de Barrientos, who died in 1469 at the age of eighty-seven, writes in Spanish with an eye to the interpretation of ignorant persons;² and this point of view was undoubtedly present over a century later to Cervantes, one of his objects being to show his readers that they must not take the fables of the romances of chivalry literally. The old directness of the first half of the century was at an end. Cervantes, writing in old age, knew that he could not change the world, and he accepted it with a smile; but his mind was not that of a sceptic nor that of a satirist. He had something better to offer than caustic satire of existing abuses and of hollow forms and display. While Quevedo was deriding wigs and false calves and crinoline petticoats, Cervantes, far from smiling Spain’s chivalry away, built up a new chivalry based on character and experience. Like Vanegas, he was for the spirit as opposed to the letter, and he knew that the letter of the law is powerless to kill if the spirit of the individual is active and alive. To describe him as a sceptical dissembler is neither more nor less reasonable than it would be to ignore the passages, quoted above, in which Vanegas denounces heresy, and on the score of his criticisms to describe him as heterodox or heretical. It has never been imagined that Vanegas, who was employed by the Inquisition as censor of books at Toledo, and addressed his first work, the *Orthographia* (1531), to the Dean and Chapter of Toledo Cathedral, and his *Primera Parte de la Diferencia de Libros que ay en el universo* (1540) to the Bishop of Calahorra, was anything but a sincere and orthodox son of the Church, which, in the words of Daniel Defoe, he wished to be a “national unmixed Church, undivided and entire.” He is certainly an attractive figure, and deserves to be more frequently read. Gradually, as we read him, the man and the times in which he lived come to life before our eyes.

¹ *Mero romancista, puro romancista*. See *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, s.v. *badea*, *dama*, *cuervo*, etc.

² “Resérvalo por la causa sobredicha e por ser la escritura en romance, la cual, viniendo como verná a noticia de algunos ignorantes, podrían errar” (*Tratado de la Adivinanza*, ed. Getino [1927], p. 92).

QUARTERLY NOTES

WE regret to have to announce the resignation of Professor Arthur Huntington Nason from the Sub-Secretaryship for America, the duties of which he has fulfilled with conspicuous ability and success. The Committee, while regretting that through pressure of work Professor Nason was compelled to resign his office, expressed its deep sense of indebtedness to him for the impetus which he has given to the work of the Association in the United States. In Professor Oliver Towles, Professor of French in New York University, who, on the joint nomination of Professor Carleton Brown and Professor Nason, has been appointed Sub-Secretary, the Association has a collaborator who will be in a position to carry on the work which Professor Nason has so ably done, and, we do not doubt, to raise the membership and efficiency of the Association in America to a still higher pitch.

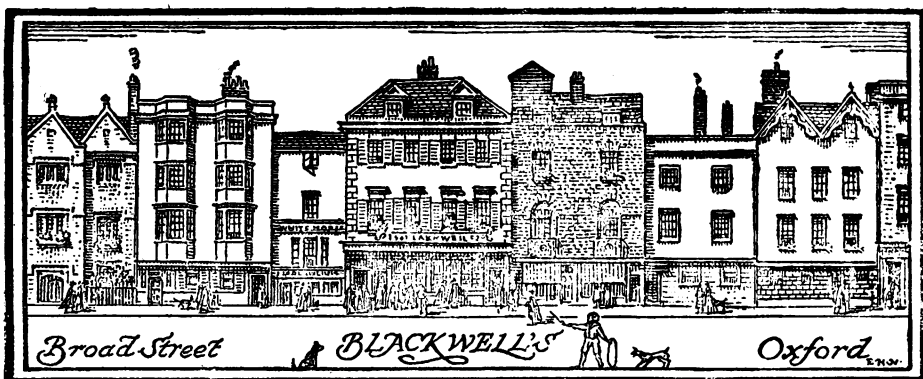
The Committee also regrets that Miss Everett will be unable to continue the editorship of the *Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, owing to pressure of work of another nature. It is a great satisfaction, however, to add that Miss M. E. Seaton and Miss M. S. Serjeantson have agreed to become joint-editors of the *Bibliography*, thus carrying on the work which they have begun in collaboration with Miss Everett. It is of course of the first importance in a compilation of this kind that there should be no break of continuity in the editorship, and while thanking Miss Everett for the able work she has done for the Association in the past, we are glad that her loyal helpers are now able to step into the position which she has vacated.

It will be observed that the *Bibliography of English Language and Literature* for 1927, which is now on sale to members at 3s. 6d. post free, and to non-members at 6s. 6d., is bound in limp fibrette of an attractive colour and considerably greater durability than the paper in which it has been bound up to the present. We trust that members and non-members alike will welcome this change, and will appreciate the fact that practically there is no change in the price at which the book is sold. The best method of showing this appreciation will be to purchase a copy immediately, and to persuade others, who perhaps in the past have objected that the form of the *Bibliography* was not sufficiently durable, to do the same.

The following members have been elected to the Committee of the Association for the academic year 1928-9: Professor W. E. Collinson, Miss E. E. Welsford, and Mr. William Atkinson. Professor J. G. Robertson has again been unanimously elected Chairman of Committee.

The Hon. Treasurer begs to remind members that subscriptions to *M.H.R.A.* 1928-9, *Modern Language Review* 1929, and *Bibliography*, vol. viii., are now due and should be sent to him as soon as possible. He acknowledges with many thanks the following contributions to the Capital Fund: Dr. J. F. Bense, 4s.; Dr. L. A. Willoughby, 2s. 6d.; Professor Mary L. Porter, 2s. 6d.; Miss H. M. Briggs, 2s. 6d.; Miss M. S. Smith, 2s. 6d. Total, 14s. od.

Publications received: *American Poetry and Prose*, by Arthur Huntington Nason, 1928 (New York University Press). *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; edited by Carleton Brown; vol. xliii., No. 3; September, 1928. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; edited by Carleton Brown; vol. xliii., No. 4; December, 1928. *Philological Quarterly*; vol. vii., No. 3; July, 1928. *Philological Quarterly*; vol. vii., No. 4; October, 1928. *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*; Part II., Book II., xvi.-xxxiv.; Book III.; by Margaret Rooke (*Libro del Poema Chiamato Citta di Vita Composto da Matteo Palmieri Fiorentino*).



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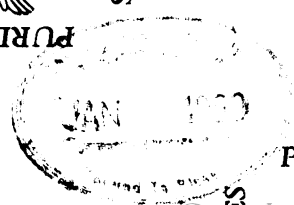
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